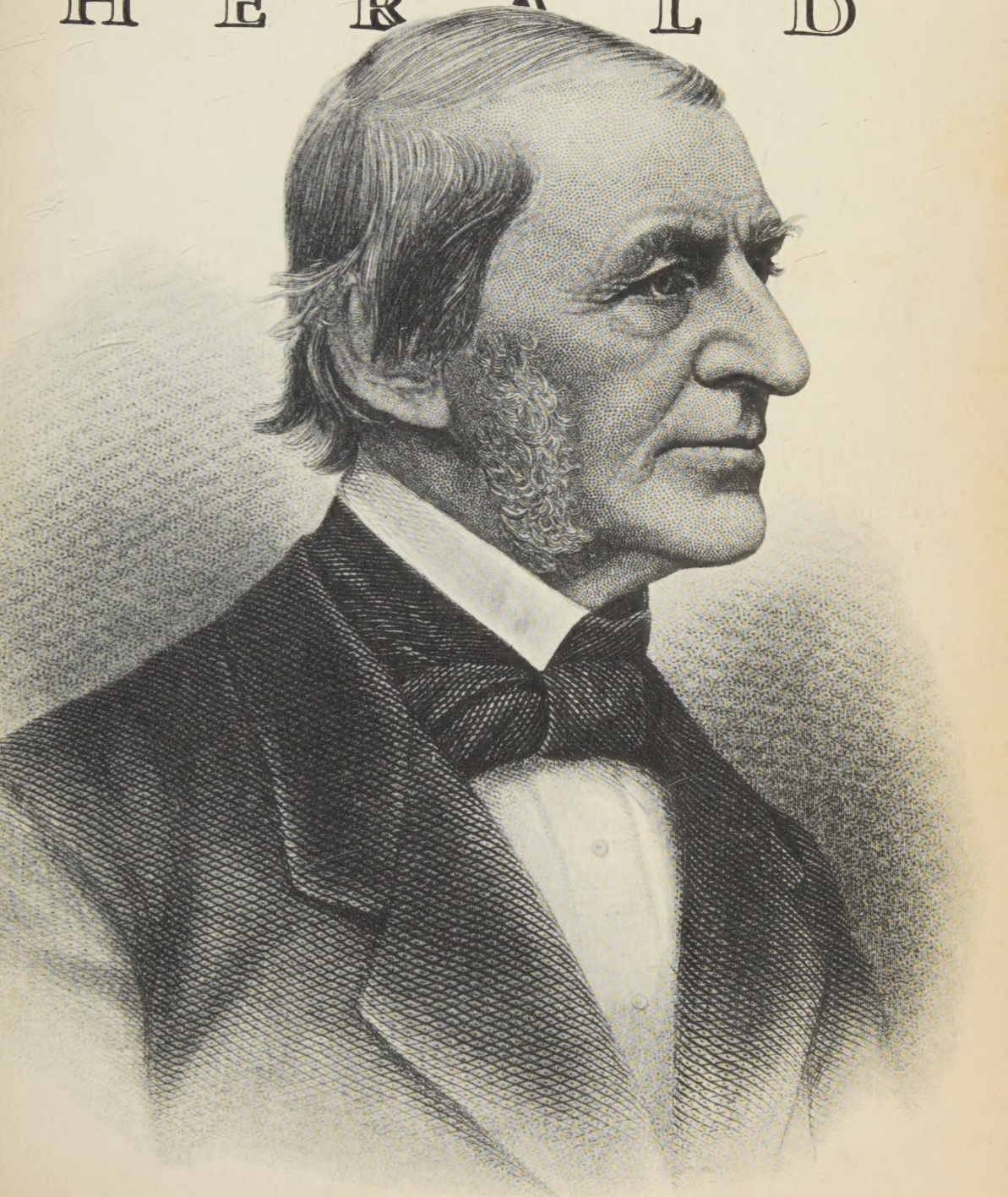


Winter 1956

Lincoln

H E R A L D



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Lincoln Memorial University

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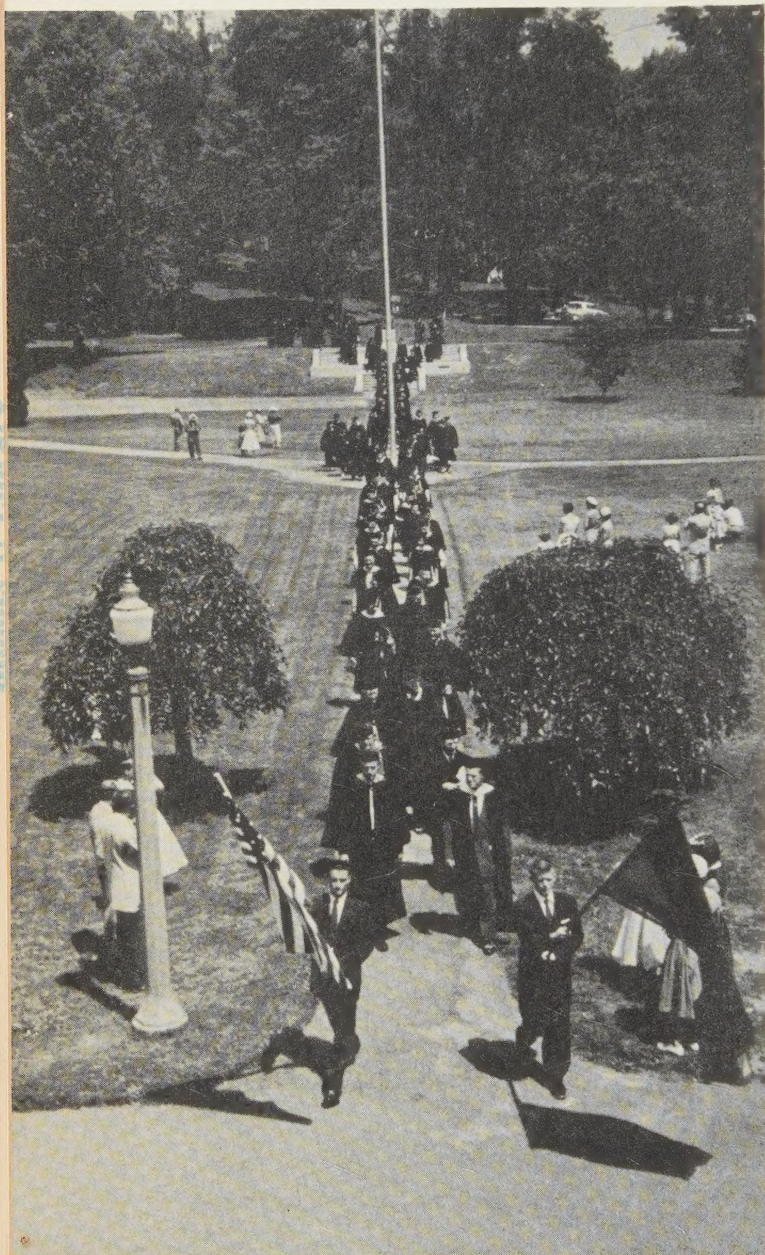
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What About the Average Student?

THE NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLARSHIP CORPORATION has been established to provide scholarship grants to high school graduates of superior scholastic ability to attend colleges of their choice. This program is financed by substantial gifts from existing foundations, corporations, and individual philanthropists, and is promoted on a wide scale by business and educational leaders throughout the nation. The first group of 200 high school seniors selected through rigorous tests this year will enter college in the fall of 1956. It is expected that the number will be increased each year.

This is a new approach in private philanthropy's endeavor to give educational opportunity to deserving young people of outstanding ability who should be trained for leadership in our complex professional life.

The desirability of giving all brilliant students, whether rich or poor, specialized training to prepare them for useful service has always been recognized by educational leaders. From this group of top level students come many of our scientists, inventors, statesmen, and professional leaders. But native ability alone is no sure criterion of success. So many other factors enter into the ultimate product of leadership, we must not forget the rank and file of our average college students. It is from that vast pool we secure the greater number of our leaders.

I have known intimately thousands of students who have attended Lincoln Memorial University in the last forty years. I have followed the careers of many of them. I knew them when they enrolled, observed their progress while in college, and kept in touch with them after graduation. In looking back over the years, I must confess that most of the average students of my acquaintance emerge with equal importance to those I remember as especially brilliant and outstanding. Many who were plodders and had difficulty in their college work later developed into citizens of superior leadership and prominence.

I am therefore making a plea for the youth of average ability who has the same hopes, ambitions, and yearnings of spirit as the valedictorian of his class. He deserves an equal opportunity with his intellectual peers. Who can say that in the race of life he will not ultimately reach goals as important to society as many of those who start with a burst of speed?

Let not our "C" student become the "forgotten" man in our educational program. If he has the qualities of character, purpose, courage, and willingness to work which are so essential to success, give him an equal opportunity. We will continue to do that at Lincoln Memorial University.

Lincoln



WINTER, 1956
VOL. 57, NO. 4

HERALD

A Magazine devoted to historical research in the field of Lincolniana and the Civil War, and to the promotion of Lincoln Ideals in American Education.

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CRUIKSHANK ENGRAVING FOR "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" 1852

Emerson and Slavery – and the Other Man

By KENNETH A. BERNARD

Slavery is disheartening; but Nature is not so helpless but it can rid itself at last of every wrong. But the spasms of Nature are centuries and ages, and will tax the faith of short-lived men. Slowly, slowly the Avenger comes but comes surely. The proverbs of the nations affirm these delays, but affirm the arrival. They say, "God may consent, but not forever."

If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled up by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

Nothing stirred the American people a century ago as did the question of human slavery. Slavery as a social, economic and moral question plagued the minds and consciences, not only of average folk, but of men who have since become honored and famous. Some took an extreme position and became identified with the Abolitionists, while others, more moderate, hoped for compromise and gradual adjustment. Thus a well-known poet, philosopher and sage came to adopt the extreme position; a contemporary, a lawyer-politician of the West, with a profound respect for the Constitution and the orderly processes of law, always preferred and hoped for a moderate and gradual approach to a solution of the problem.

The poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was attracted to the Abolitionist side, for to him, as to the Abolitionists, the fundamental issue at stake was the same — the issue of human equality and human dignity. The question was thus a moral one, and Emerson, the philosophical moralist, became associated with the moralist agitator, Wendell Phillips, and the moralist in action, John Brown.

This natural affinity on the moral level led the philosopher, almost in spite of himself, to sustain and justify the lawlessness of extreme Abolitionists — on moral grounds. Thus the dilemma which at times appears in the fabric of history — a high moral ground leads its advocates to engage in words and deeds which lead to controversy and conflict. In this instance, so complex a problem in the American social scene as slavery — woven there through two hundred years of development — became a simple matter of right and wrong, and resort to the “higher Law than the Constitution” led to violent language of censure and condemnation, to violent action against legal authority, and even to bloodshed.

Emerson was not by nature given to argument and had no great liking for

controversy. He had a demeanor of calmness and an attitude of tolerance and sympathetic understanding. He preferred the role of philosopher pointing to the truth rather than that of champion or defender of a cause.

Only rarely did he get riled up, or bitter, or emotionally partisan. The one outstanding exception seems to have been in the controversy over slavery. Into this controversy he was finally drawn, and in his sentiments and even in his words he became almost as extreme and partisan as the best (or worst) of the Abolitionists.

But Emerson was not drawn into the anti-slavery crusade until fairly late. Until 1851 he was only now and then concerned with the movement. Moreover, he was critical of the Abolitionists — he thought that they talked too much and held too many meetings. They should, he recorded, stop all their boast and frolic and vituperation and “in lowliness face the slave by love in the heart.”

Does he not do more to abolish Slavery [he asks] who works all day steadily in his garden than he who goes to the Abolition meeting and makes a speech? The Anti-slavery agency, like so many of our employments, is a suicidal business.

Again, he was critical of Boston merchants who consorted with Southern planters for reasons of money:

I understand very well in cities how the Southerner finds sympathy. The heat drives, every summer, the planter to the North. He comes . . . to the Astor and the Tremont Houses. The Boston merchant bargains for his cotton . . . then calls on him at the hotel, politely sympathizes with all his modes of thinking — “He never sided with these violent men,” — poor Garrison, poor Phillips are on the coals. . . .

. . . Planter will not hesitate to beat his negro, because he can. We beat him in milder fashion by pelting the negroe’s friend. We cannot lash him with a whip, because we dare not. We lash him with our tongues. I like the Southerner the best; he deals roundly and does not cant. The Northerner is surrounded with churches and Sunday schools and is hypocritical.

Emerson had, before 1851, heard

Phillips and others orate on the subject of slavery, and had, himself, given one important address on the subject, that in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of emancipation in the British West Indies (1844). He was becoming convinced that people would have to be plagued with the subject till something was done.

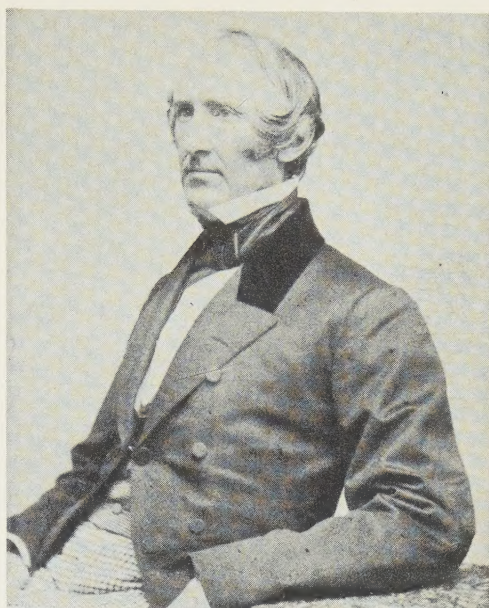
In 1851, however, Emerson became greatly aroused, and from then on, he gave more and more attention to the anti-slavery cause. The thing that stirred him was the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. In his *Journal* he wrote that Slavery had become the single topic of conversation because of the might of the law. A great wrong is attempted . . .

We shall never feel well again until that detestable law is nullified in Massachusetts and until the Government is assured that once and for all it cannot and shall not be executed here. All I have and all I can do shall be given and done in opposition to the execution of the Law.

In March, 1851, he wrote a letter of regret that he couldn't attend a meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society, in April he mentioned having read the speeches of several prominent anti-slavery leaders, saying that one that helped restore his spirit was Theodore Parker's sermon "The Chief Sins of the People," and on May 3 he delivered his first public address on "The Fugitive Slave Law" in Concord. He repeated the address in several places and on March 7, 1854, he gave it in New York, on the anniversary of Webster's famous speech in favor of Compromise, which speech had ever after damned Webster in the eyes of all good Abolitionists.

In 1854-55 (December-January), Emerson gave six lectures on slavery in Bangor, Maine, and soon after an address before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, thence going on a lecture tour in upper New York state during which he also spoke on slavery.

May of 1856 found Emerson speaking in Concord on "The Assault Upon Mr.



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

WENDELL PHILLIPS

Sumner," and soon after he said in a letter that he was looking at the map to see where he would go when Boston and Massachusetts "surrender to the slave-trade."

Emerson was aroused, he was now of the Anti-Slavery movement, but not in it completely. The crusade never absorbed him wholly as it did Garrison and Phillips. His anti-slavery speeches were given mostly in anti-slavery territory; when he went West he lectured on other subjects, and he did not have close connections with many of the leading anti-slavery men. In the winter of 1852-53, for example, he lectured as far West as St. Louis on such subjects as "The Anglo-Saxon," "Culture," "Wealth," "Economy." In a letter written on January 11, 1853, from Springfield, Illinois, he discussed traveling conditions and the weather: "Here I am in the deep mud of the prairie. . . . In the prairie, it rains, & thaws incessantly, &, if we step off the short street, we go up to the shoulders, perhaps, in mud."

(Emerson's observations here and elsewhere afford an interesting contrast to

his formal comments in his lectures on the subject of "Nature.")

In this same letter there is this sentence: "I have read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." The book had been out nearly a year, Emerson had previously mentioned it, but had not gotten around to read it until this time, and then made but one sentence of comment.

Again, Emerson took no direct part in attempts to rescue fugitive slaves like Shadrach (1851) or Burns (1854), but he did comment on the action of judges in such cases:

If judges cannot find law enough to maintain the sovereignty of the state, and to protect the life and freedom of every inhabitant not a criminal, it is idle to compliment them as learned and venerable. What avails their learning or veneration? At a pinch, they are no more use than idiots

About the time he was studying the map for a place to go, in 1856, Emerson was an alternate delegate to the Republican Convention in Philadelphia. He was urged to go, but did not. Other things were on his mind at the time, including the completion of his book *English Traits*.

Later, when the John Brown excitement was at its height, he considered the possibility of going to New York to speak at a Brown meeting, but did not go; with equal concern he discussed a lecture to be given in the small community of Sterling, Massachusetts, subject probably "Manners" or "Success."

His thoughts on what his course should be, he had revealed in his *Journal*:

I waked at night, and bemoaned myself, because I had not thrown myself into this deplorable question of Slavery, which seems to want nothing so much as a few assured voices. But then, in hours of sanity, I recover myself, and say, 'God must govern his own world, and knows his way out of this pit, without my desertion of my post, which has none to guard it but me. I have quite other slaves to free than those negroes, to wit, imprisoned spirits, imprisoned thoughts, far back in the brain of man. . . .'

Eventually, Emerson became closely identified with John Brown and the

activities which helped to make of him a martyr. He contributed to the Kansas Aid Fund, he heard Brown with approval when Brown spoke in Concord in 1857; he spoke at meetings in Boston and Salem for the relief of Brown's family; he read a poem at the meeting in Concord on the day Brown was executed; he called Brown "a hero of romance . . .", "a pure idealist," a man of " . . . simple, artless goodness, joined with . . . sublime courage," a believer in the Golden Rule, "the founder of liberty in Kansas . . . a romantic character . . ."

When the war came, Emerson's position was, again, essentially that of the Abolitionists—the war was necessary to purge the nation of slavery. Emancipation was the thing most desired, and the President and the administration moved too slowly. In January, 1862, Emerson was in Washington to lecture on "American Civilization," and in his lecture he made pointed criticism of the administration and its hesitancy.

The coming of Emancipation a year later Emerson approved, but he was soon asking for more. He wanted complete emancipation, not just the partial war-time measure. However, when later he was asked to go to Washington with a delegation to pressure the President into a more vigorous policy, he declined. The plan was for Wendell Phillips to make a political statement after which Emerson was to give "the proper moral and intellectual impression." In declining, Emerson said, " . . . an enterprise such as your note suggests is quite foreign to my habits or power. . . . I have not the skill to talk with people, & draw them to my views."

Although there is no mention of it in the *Letters*, *Journals*, or *Works*, the date December 18, 1865, must have been one of satisfaction to Emerson, for that was the date when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, writing freedom for the slaves therein, was proclaimed in effect.

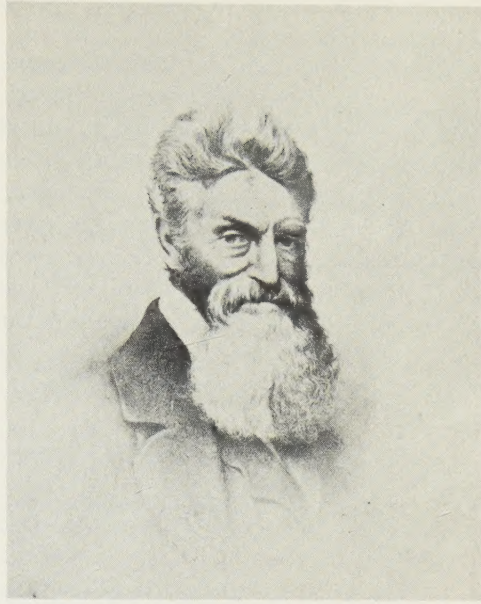
To men of more moderate views and of greater understanding, the slavery problem was not so simple as it seemed to the Abolitionists, or to Emerson. Such men could see that slavery was at odds with that principle of the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal—and that it was a moral wrong; they could also recognize that it was sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States, that slaves were property and that the law protected such property. Furthermore, such men had some appreciation of the problem of race and the social control of those unfortunates, Negroes in bondage. They saw the American Dilemma with its complexities as involving much more than just the matter of a simple right or wrong.

This is clearly evident when one compares Emerson's views on the slavery crisis with the views of the western lawyer-politician, whom Emerson met but two or three times, but whose views he came to know well, and of whose views he became at times quite critical. Of this man Emerson wrote in his *Journal*:

... [he] impressed me more favorably than I had hoped. A frank, sincere, well-meaning man, with a lawyer's habit of mind, good clear statement of his fact; correct enough, not vulgar, ... but with a sort of boyish cheerfulness, or that kind of sincerity and jolly good meaning that our class meetings on Commencement Days show, in telling our old stories over. When he has made his remark, he looks up at you with great satisfaction, and shows all his white teeth, and laughs.

Emerson's first recorded comments on slavery appeared in his *Journal* in 1822, when he was nineteen years old, and in a letter written in the following year. "I believe that nobody now regards the maxim 'that all men are born equal,' as anything more than a convenient hypothesis or an extravagant declamation," he wrote in his *Journal*.

In writing to his aunt, he asked, "And what becomes of the poor Slave born in chains living in stripes & toil, who never



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

JOHN BROWN

heard of Virtue & never practiced it & dies cursing God & Man? . . . Must he die in Eternal Darkness because it has been his lot to *live* in the Shadow of death?"

Twelve years later came his first really serious comment on slavery:

Though the voice of society should demand a defence of slavery . . . that service can never be expected of me. . . . If by opposing slavery I go to undermine institutions, I confess I do not wish to live in a nation where slavery exists. The life of this world has but a limited worth . . . and really is not worth such a price as the toleration of slavery. . . .

But at the same time, he was a little disturbed about the Abolitionists, when he wrote in 1837:

I have the same objection to dogmatism in Reform as to dogmatism in Conservatism. The impatience of discipline, the haste to rule before we have served, to practice laws for nations and humanity before we have said our own prayers . . . these all dwarf and degrade; . . . our own virtue is a fuss and sometimes a fit.

He then went on to say that his conscience forced him to respect "that hapless class who see the faults and stains of our social order, and who pray and strive incessantly to right the wrong;

this annoying class of men and women . . . are . . . distressing."

The other man did not keep a journal, nor, at this time write many letters. Yet, in this same year, he did go out of his way to put himself on record *publically* with regard to slavery and abolition. When the legislature of his state passed resolutions highly disapproving of the formation of abolition societies and of their doctrines, and affirming the sacred right of property in slaves, he with a colleague, entered a formal protest:

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

In the following year (1838) he, too, gave a lecture, in which he said:

Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, . . . let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; . . . let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and enforced in Courts of justice. . . . There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

Emerson, in his address in 1844 on the tenth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies, had given a vivid description of the horrors of slavery, and yet ten years later he could write: "I have lived all my life without suffering any known inconvenience from American Slavery. I never saw it; I never heard the whip; . . ."

The other man had had contact with American slavery. As a youth he had been attacked by a band of Negroes while on a trip down the Mississippi, and he had seen the slave markets in New Orleans. In 1855, he wrote to a friend:

In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that . . . there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with

irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. . . . [it is] a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable.

As mentioned earlier, the event which really aroused Emerson was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. Not only did he condemn the Act in strong terms and oppose its enforcement, but he dispaired of the continuance of the Union if it remained a law. His sentiments were unequivocal:

An immoral law makes it a man's duty to break it, at every hazard. For virtue is the very self of every man. It is therefore a principle of law that . . . an immoral statute is void.

There can never be peace whilst this devilish seed of war is in our soil. Root it out, burn it up, pay the damage, and let us have done with it. . . . we must put out this poison, this conflagration, this raging fever of Slavery out of the Constitution.

Here was the question, Are you for man and for the good of man; or are you for the hurt and harm of man?

The Union? Oh, yes, I prized that, other things being equal; but what is the Union to a man self-condemned, with all sense of self-respect and chance of far fame cut off—with the name of conscience and religion become bitter ironies, and liberty . . . [a] ghastly nothing. . . . The worst mischiefs that could follow from Secession and new combination . . . were slight . . . to the calamity your Union has brought us.

The other man was aroused in 1854, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and he, too, expressed his sentiments then and later:

When they [of the South] remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully, and fairly, and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

Stand with anybody that stands RIGHT. Stand with him while he is right and PART with him when he goes wrong. Stand WITH the abolitionist in restoring the Missouri compromise; and stand AGAINST him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive slave law. In the latter case you stand with the southern disunionist. What of that? You are still right. In both cases you are right . . . you oppose [expose?] the dangerous ex-

tremes . . . you stand on middle ground and hold the ship level and steady.

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it is, [in?] his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism; and when brought into collision so fiercely, as slavery extension brings them, shocks, and throes, and convulsions must ceaselessly follow.

This *declared* indifference, but as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it . . . enables the enemies of free institutions . . . to taunt us as hypocrites. . . .

Well I too, go for saving the Union. Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any GREAT EVIL, to avoid a GREATER one.

Both men were continuously disturbed and distressed by the difficulty of the problem and both were concerned over the divisive influence of slavery in American society. Emerson wrote in 1855: "I am trying hard in these days to see some light in the dark Slavery question. . . . But to me as to many tis like Hamlet's task imposed on so unfit an agent as Hamlet," and the other man wrote later that same year: "The problem is too mighty for me. May God, in his mercy, superintend the solution."

The year previous Emerson had written to Carlyle: "The fight of slave and freeman is drawing nearer, the question is sharply, whether slavery or whether freedom shall be abolished." Two years later in a public address he said:

I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one state. I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom.

The other man put it this way, in a letter to a friend: "our political problem now is 'Can we, as a nation, continue together *permanently-forever-half* slave, and half free?' " And later he, too, repeated the thought in a public speech, against the advice of his friends:

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object,

and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

Emerson extolled John Brown as the "hero of Harpers' Ferry," and spoke of the Harper's Ferry incident as "This commanding event which . . . eclipses all others which have occurred for a long time in our history. . . ." He admitted that Brown had made a fatal blunder, but this was "only to bring out his virtues." And he added, while Brown was still in jail, "I must hope for his escape to the last moment."

The other man said: "John Brown has shown great courage, rare unselfishness, . . . But no man, North or South, can approve of violence or crime." Later he pointed out:

That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution.

Both men approved the election results in November, 1860, but they differed on the nature of the war that followed—Emerson considered it a war to purge the nation of the evil of slavery; the other man thought it a war to preserve the Union and vindicate self-government, saying:

This is essentially a People's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men. . . .

It presents the question, whether discontented individuals, . . . can always, upon the pretences made in this case, . . . or arbitrarily, without any pretence, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth.

Consequently, they differed somewhat on the question of Emancipation

—not on Emancipation itself, for both men wished the slaves to be free, but on how and when it should come. Both men had been inclined toward compensation for slave-owners; Emerson suggested it as early as 1851, and the other man, who had preferred gradual emancipation, continued to hope for compensation for slave-owners as late as February, 1865. As the war went on, Emerson, becoming impatient, charged the administration with lack of courage and lack of conviction to act in the interest of humanity. In his lecture in Washington in January, 1862, he said:

The evil you contend with has taken alarming proportions, and you still content yourself with parrying the blows it aims, but, as if enchanted, abstain from striking at the cause [slavery].

In this national crisis, it is not argument that we want, but that rare courage which dares commit itself to a principle, . . .

We want men of original perception and original action, who can open their eyes . . . to considerations of benefit to the human race, can act in the interest of civilization.

I wish I saw in the people that inspiration which, if government would not obey the same, would leave the government behind and create on the moment the means and executors it wanted. . . . Emancipation is the demand of civilization.

By August, 1862, Emerson concluded that Emancipation was near, (1) because of the eternal right of it, (2) because of military necessity, that is, to create an armed force in the rear in the South and so weaken the army at the front, and (3) because of the danger that the South might adopt it in return for recognition and foreign aid and thus put the North in the impossible position of defending slavery against the South fighting for freedom.

Although Emerson did not know it, the other man, by a not too dissimilar process of reasoning, had decided, a month earlier, that Emancipation was imminent and would come very soon!

When Emancipation did come, both men were glad. Emerson commented after the preliminary Proclamation was issued: "We think we cannot overstate

the wisdom and benefit of this act of the government," and the other man thought that the signing of the final Proclamation was the central act of the administration and the great event of the century.

But neither man was wholly satisfied, for Emancipation had come as a war measure only, and left some Negroes still slaves. What about them? It was not until December 18, 1865, that the answer came—"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime . . . shall exist within the United States. . . ."

The long struggle was now over; the agitation could cease; both men could now rejoice; but only one of them did—for the other was dead.

Emerson came to appreciate fully the greatness of the man of moderation after he was gone. And so it was with most men. In the quarter century from 1850 to 1875 extreme views, leavened by strong—and uncompromising—moral convictions, prevailed. As time went on, the man of moderate views grew in stature and the wisdom of his policies became more evident.

Back in 1853, lecturing in Springfield, Illinois, on "Power," Emerson began with these words:

There is not yet any inventory of a man's faculties, any more than a bible of his opinions. Who shall set a limit to the influence of a human being? There are men who by their sympathetic attractions carry nations with them and lead the activity of the human race.

The other man was in the audience and heard those words.

Eighteen years later, Emerson again lectured in that same city, this time on the subject "Greatness." He said:

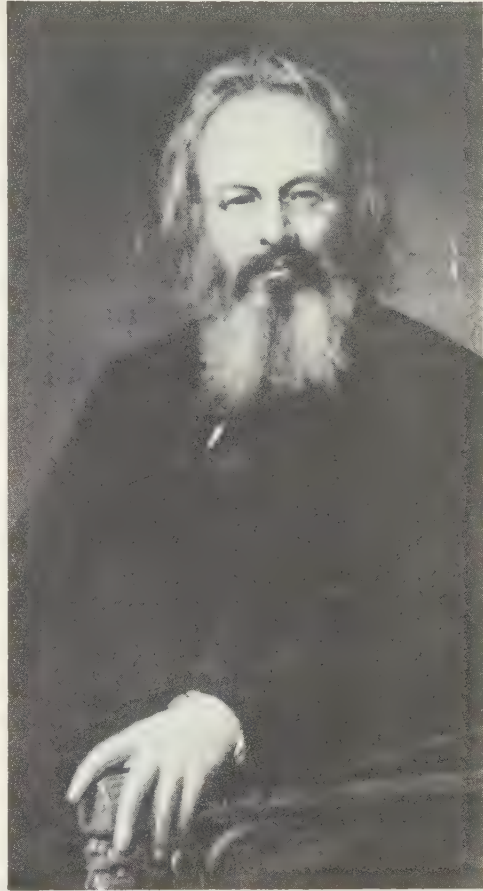
A great style of hero draws equally all classes. . . . Abraham Lincoln is perhaps the most remarkable example of this class that we have seen,—a man who was at home and welcome with the humblest, and with a spirit and a practical view in the times of terror that commanded the admiration of the wisest. His heart was as great as the world, but there was no room in it to hold the memory of a wrong.

Orestes Brownson: Lincoln Critic

by CLARENCE A. BROWN

KNOwn now only to scholars in American literature and history, his fame ironically eclipsed by that of the man whose "bungling statesmanship" he feared more than "Davis and his armies," Orestes Brownson, nevertheless, was one of the most prominent and highly respected men of his day. Editor of the influential *BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW*, his consistent record of intelligent observation can scarcely be matched by that of any other writer of the nineteenth century. James Russell Lowell, in the *FABLE FOR CRITICS*, placed him just after Emerson; and Edgar Allan Poe, one of the severest and most perceptive of American literary critics, considered that "He is, in every respect, an extraordinary man."

On the threshold of the Civil War, no one had done more than Brownson to prevent the spread of abolitionism, to defend against equalitarian fanatics of either the North or the South the constitutional rights of the slave-holding states. Henry F. Brownson states that "From 1828 down to the outbreak of the rebellion, he never faltered or wavered in his defense of state rights, or in his opposition to centralism or consolidation."¹ While thus keenly aware of the rights of the states under the American Constitution, he was attached, as Lincoln was, to the Union of the states and never wavered in his loyalty as a citizen to the federal government: a loyalty which led Brownson in 1860 to express a preference, in spite of serious misgivings, for the Republican



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

ORESTES BROWNSON

party. In an article, "Politics at Home," he wrote:

We should regret the defeat of the Republican party, for that would involve the triumph of the slave interest, and subject to it the policy of the government; and we should regret its success, for that would open the door for the reappearance of political abolitionism. The candidates of the party are not such as we prefer, but perhaps they are better than the Democratic party will sup-

port. Turn the question which way we will, which side in or out, up or down, it has an ugly look, and whichever of the two parties accedes to power, we must expect trouble, confusion, and not much good.²

Since it was traditional for Catholics to support the Democratic party, Brownson's REVIEW lost quite a number of its Catholic subscribers, not because the magazine supported the Republican party, but because Brownson, as a private citizen, preferred that party to any of the other parties in the field. This testifies to the sincerity and lack of prejudice with which Brownson stood firm on his principles even in the face of financial failure.

While Brownson's expressed preference was for the Republican party, he viewed with apprehension the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as its candidate, considering, as did many others, William H. Seward the logical choice:

We do not doubt that Mr. Abraham Lincoln is a very worthy man, an honest man, and a man of good natural parts, but we must say of his nomination, as Daniel Webster said of another, "it is a nomination not fit to be made." An honest party, wedded to principle, and having in itself an element of life and permanent success, will put forth its representative man and stand or fall with him. We have no partiality for Wm. H. Seward, but a party that will reject such a man and take up such a man as Mr. Lincoln, we think, is governed by a short-sighted policy, is a party of to-day, expecting to dissolve and vanish in thin air to-morrow.³

He later justified his voting for Lincoln, even though he was an inferior candidate, by stating that "it had become necessary for the country to commence the work of breaking and annihilating the political power of slavery, which had almost from the origin of the government dominated the administration."⁴

The first year of Lincoln's administration did nothing to change the apprehension with which Brownson had viewed his nomination. The fluctuation of the Union fortunes and the vacilla-

tion of administration policy led Brownson to demand "the exhibition of a capacity on the part of the administration, civil and military, which it has not yet shown," since "thus far our civil and military administration has proved a miserable failure."⁵

The President's first annual message to Congress Brownson could not praise for "grammatical purity, or literary elegance," but thought it "a plain, sensible, business-like document, not much above, nor much below what we expected."⁶ Lincoln, he felt, was sincere but inept in dealing with the slavery issue and in suppressing the rebellion:

We believe the president is disposed to save the Union, but, in our judgment, he has no adequate conception of the conditions on which, and on which alone, it can be done. He is timid where we should wish him to be fearless, and fearless where we should be willing he should be timid. He is bold enough before loyal men, timid almost to shrinking before disloyal men. He is afraid to touch with his little finger the "divine" institution of slavery; but has no fear of sacrificing any number of freemen and any amount of national treasure, to prevent a hair of its head from being singed. He would seem to regard it as a more imperative duty to keep the border slave states nominally in the Union, than to suppress the armed rebellion.⁷

On the heels of a succession of federal military reverses, Brownson in October of 1862 attacked the lack of a "bold, prompt, and energetic" administration of the war, particularly Lincoln's part in McClellan's controversial peninsula campaign:

We arraign not the army; we will not complain of Halleck, McClellan, or even Pope, till we know what orders have been given them by the administration, or the state policy by which they have been required to govern themselves . . . Nor do we agree in casting the blame of our military miscarriages, if miscarriages they are to be called, on the secretary of war, whom we know to be a man of large views, loyal intentions, and no mean administrative ability; for he has had no influence in shaping the policy of the administration, and but little in the conduct of the war. He is only one of the president's clerks, and is overruled in his judgment

whenever there is a question of any importance to be decided. He opposed with all his might General McClellan's movement upon the peninsula, and was overruled by the president, who, against his own judgment and convictions, consented to it.⁸

More than anything else during the first two years of Lincoln's administration, Brownson felt, his failure to act promptly and vigorously in the opening months of conflict constituted his tragic error. Brownson could not view sympathetically the President's hesitancy while attempting to conciliate conflicting parties and to balance conflicting interests:

If Mr. Lincoln had been a genius or a hero, or if he had listened to the men really in earnest to put down the rebellion and save the nation, and had appealed by his vigorous measures to the living, patriotic, loyal sentiment of the country, and given no heed to the advice or opinions of those whose sympathies were with the rebels, or whose disloyal conduct had involved the country in its troubles, he would have preserved the enthusiasm which broke out all over the loyal states immediately after the attack on Sumter, and restored peace to the country.⁹

Likewise, Brownson was critical of Lincoln's failure to take prompt action on the emergent slavery question. That Brownson was under no delusion that the war was one to free the slaves is evidenced by his thorough exploration of the relationship between slavery and the war in an article published in the REVIEW for October, 1861. "Certainly," he wrote, "the North has not taken up arms for the destruction of negro-slavery, but for the maintenance of the federal government, the enforcement of the laws, and the preservation of the Union . . . the liberation of the slave is not the purpose and end of the war in which we are now engaged."¹⁰ But he did feel that the instant and complete emancipation of all the slaves, with the assurance of reasonable compensation, would be one of the most effective measures to hasten the end of the conflict.

Brownson's plea for immediate emancipation as a strategic war measure won for him the acclaim of William



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist paper, the Boston LIBERATOR, which commented editorially:

This distinguished Catholic writer has a powerful article in the last number of his REVIEW, in which, strangely enough, considering his well known conservatism, he takes ground in favor of emancipation as a war measure. The following extracts will sufficiently indicate his position, which is maintained with his usual ability and force. . . . This conclusion is the language of common sense, of genuine patriotism, and of true religion.¹¹

A short time later, the LIBERATOR again praised Brownson for his article, "Archbishop Hughes on Slavery," which was sharply critical of the position taken by the Archbishop of New York against the emancipation of slaves. An editorial, "Dr. Brownson on Loyal Harmony," emphasizes that "This is no time for an Archbishop or any other man to make war on Abolitionists . . . Such things are untimely and mischievous . . . We must be united . . . There is no use trying to gain credit with the loyal North by saying the Union must be sustained, and with the disloyal South by vituperating Abolitionists."¹²

The strength of conviction with which

Brownson opposed Lincoln on the question of abolishing slavery as a war measure is evidenced by his continuing to advocate it in the face of the bitterest opposition from influential Catholic publications. In September of 1862, the *BOSTON PILOT*, voice of Boston Irish Catholicism, questioned "What would those creatures the slaves do with themselves, if they were unfettered from their happy servility?" and predicted that Brownson would "henceforward . . . sink or swim with the dire pests of the Republic, the Abolitionists of the North." "The Editor of *BROWN-SON'S REVIEW*," the *PILOT* continued, "has nothing to overbalance the fanatic demagoguism that now leads his faculties. His educated Protestants have neither the ability nor the gratitude to save him."

While it is true that Brownson won the acclaim of the Abolitionist press, he never was an advocate of Abolitionist principles. On the contrary, even years after the Civil War had ended he continued to reiterate his position: "We did not advocate emancipation of the slaves on abolition principles . . . but as a necessary war measure," and to criticize "The abolition movement, which laughed at constitutions and legal restraints."

Lincoln, however, was invincibly opposed to any immediate emancipation of the slaves. Henry F. Brownson tells us that:

Over and over again had Brownson urged him in private conversation to proclaim the immediate emancipation of the slaves belonging to the rebels, as a military necessity, to deprive them of the labor which enabled them to draft nearly the whole able-bodied free white population into their army; and all in vain, until he was frightened into it, as he told Brownson, by the threatened intervention of France and England in our domestic quarrel."¹³

Brownson felt that Lincoln had been elected by those who were determined that the slave interest should no longer shape the policy and govern the councils of the nation; he therefore resented

Lincoln's apparent giving in to the pressure exerted by some of the slave interests, protesting "against the perpetuation of that domination, even though confined to the slave interest of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri."¹⁴ Moreover, Brownson pointed out, "Kentucky never voted to sustain the Union or to discharge her duty to the Union, till the president had modified General Fremont's proclamation, freeing the slaves of rebels, and her prominent men had received assurances that the triumph of the national cause should work no detriment to the 'divine and sacred institution' of negro slavery."¹⁵

It was Brownson's opinion that the president, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, should have sustained Fremont's proclamation and given orders to his other commanders to issue similar orders if they found them necessary. "But it is the misfortune of Mr. Lincoln," he wrote, "always to adopt wrong measures, or right measures at a wrong time or in a wrong way."¹⁶

Even the emancipation proclamation itself accomplished little or nothing:

He has defeated immediate emancipation in Missouri, most likely in Maryland, carefully protected the slave interest in Kentucky, forbore to touch it in Tennessee, and secured to the anti-free-state party the electoral vote in Louisiana. His emancipation proclamation we count for nothing. It was ostensibly issued on the ground of military necessity, and yet, he waited for military success before issuing it; and though one great purpose of issuing it was to deprive the rebels of the labor of their slaves, he in the very proclamation itself, advises them to remain and labor for their masters as usual. This looks very little like military necessity."¹⁷

Aroused as he was by Lincoln's war policies and by his attitude toward emancipation, Brownson nevertheless felt that the greatest danger to the country in Lincoln's administration lay in his handling of the seceded states. From the very beginning of the conflict, the administration had been subject to the illusion that the rebels were merely factions in their respective states

who by artful means had usurped the functions of their state governments while the great majority of the people remained devoted to the Union. That the administration did not regard the rebellion in the outset as civil war and the rebels as enemies but as citizens "criminally combined" to obstruct law and justice Brownson felt was evidenced by "the president's inaugural address, and his proclamation calling out the militia."¹⁸

Many of the political measures of the government concerning the seceded states Brownson called "illegal, unconstitutional, immoral, revolutionary, and unnecessary."¹⁹ The president's establishment of provisional governors and military governments in the seceded states and his treatment of these governments as states in the Union caused Brownson to fear the executive more than the southern confederacy.²⁰ Brownson condemned the president's measures not only as being unwise and impolitic in themselves, but also as endangering the liberties of the country by usurping the powers of Congress:

If the rebellious states are still states in the union, the President violates their constitutions, and wars against the essential principle of every state organization in the Union; if they are not states in the Union, but, as we maintain, population and territory belonging to the Union, then he transcends his province as the executive branch of the government, and undertakes to do on executive authority alone what only Congress can do.²¹

All of which led Brownson to conclude:

The secessionists lose the nation; and the Republican administration is in danger of losing the states; and the one evil is hardly greater than the other. The administration has evidently never had any clear understanding of what we call the constitution of the sovereign power, which in every nation is one, and can only be one; or what, perhaps, might better be called the constitution of American civil society, or the American state."²²

In a letter written in 1863 to Charles Sumner, Brownson again expressed his

fear of Lincoln's assumption of Congressional functions:

I agree with you fully as to the importance of obtaining for Congress the management of the lapsed States. It belongs constitutionally to Congress, as much as does that of any other population and territory belonging to the Union and not yet erected into states, and it cannot be left to the President without extreme danger to our constitutional system of government.²³

Pointing out that the president was "no statesman," "no constitutional lawyer," and that he had "no conception of our real system of government," Brownson considered him to be responsible for much of the existing confusion in the government concerning acts presumably passed under the peace power and yet seemingly defensible only under the war power, which had led to a rather considerable opposition to the government both in and out of Congress on strictly constitutional grounds. Brownson believed it more important to maintain the Union under the existing constitution than to seek to win the war and to extinguish slavery by unconstitutional action, or by the political interference of the citizens of one state with the rights of those of another. And he felt that Lincoln had done nothing from the constitutional point of view to clarify the conflict and to control the course of events:

The president has never yet, in any of his messages or speeches on the subject, met the arguments of the secessionists, and given a good reason why their secession ordinances are null, and do not absolve them from their Obedience to the United States. . . . He has proceeded blindly from the first, and kept 'pegging away' at the rebellion, though with indifferent success, leaving himself and the nation to follow the course of events without seeking to control them. . . . Of the president not much was ever expected, for nobody ever dreamed that he was or could be a statesman, and his cabinet, if they had statesmanship, could never display it under so incompetent a chief. The consequence is, that we have been for nearly four years carrying on a disastrous war, without any tolerable understanding of the grounds of its justification.²⁴

TO BE CONTINUED

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The following poem was written less than a month after Lincoln's death. It was written by a sixty-year old Negro slave who had attached himself to the 9th Michigan Cavalry when it came through Chapel Hill, North Carolina in April, 1865. Major William C. Stevens of this command wrote to his family in Whitmore Lake, Michigan on May 23, 1865 and sent them the poem:

LINCOLN IS DEAD

*He is gone, the strong base
of the nation,
The dove to his covert has fled;
Ye heroes' lament his
privation
For Lincoln immortal is dead.*

*He is gone down,
the sun of the Union
Like Phoebus that sets
in the west,
The planet of peace and
commotion
Forever has gone to his rest.*

*He is gone from a world
of commotion,
No equal succeeds in his stead
His wonders extend with
the ocean
Whose waves murmur
"Lincoln is dead."*

*He is gone and can ne'er
be forgotten
Whose great deeds eternal
shall bloom;
When gold, pearls and
diamonds are rotten
His deed will break fresh
from the tomb.*

*He is gone out of glory
to glory,
A smile with the tear may
be shed:
Oh, then let us tell the
sweet story
Triumphantly, Lincoln
is dead.*

The poem is interesting as an example of how quickly the people began to immortalize Lincoln. Such an attitude toward him certainly did not exist during his lifetime, but this document located in the Stevens Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, helps to show how soon such a feeling began to develop.

It is fascinating to speculate on what the old Negro felt when he recited those words. Certainly he could have known very little about the political and economic forces of the war or what it would mean to him. Here less than a month after Lincoln's assassination is that mystical feeling of Lincoln's resurrection so beautifully expressed half a century later by Vachel Lindsay in "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." This Negro slave in 1865 apparently caught the heartbeat of the nation that would not and will not let Lincoln die!

Martha Mitchell Bigelow

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates and History

By MORTON J. FRISCH

THE POLITICAL REFLECTION of Abraham Lincoln have often been studied by present-day scholars with only a fraction of the care and concentration which they merit. James G. Randall, treating the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, in his *Lincoln the President*, states that it was symptomatic of the times that the debates did not provide (and the debaters were not devoted to) a balanced and well rounded estimate of public problems.² The debates were (in their larger context) part of the emotional unbalance of the times which helped to precipitate the Civil War. Randall's position toward the avoidability of that war has already been thoroughly and ably criticized by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in his "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review* (October, 1949) and Peter Geyl in his "The American Civil War and the Problem of Inevitability," *New England Quarterly* (June, 1951).³

Randall's position on the Lincoln-Douglas debates has three main premises: First, he charges that the debaters were not concerned with a representative coverage of national questions, but almost entirely with slavery, and with only a limited and comparatively unimportant aspect of that subject.⁴ No one would deny that the slavery question was not the only important problem that the nation faced in 1858. But Randall has failed to devote sufficient attention to the fact that slavery was not an isolated issue. The real problem for Lincoln was not the Negro problem as such, but the problem of what the life of the nation ought to be. He believed that slavery could not be allowed to expand without surrendering those vital principles which he considered fundamental to the American

ideal. What was really important for Lincoln, then, was the future life of the nation.

It was surprising to Randall that the negligible amount of human bondage in Kansas constituted the only question of sufficient importance to occupy nearly all the attention of the debaters.¹ Lincoln, however, was determined that slavery must be prevented from spreading into Kansas⁵ not because, as it actually turned out, the people of that territory were opposed to it, but because it was wrong. "I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong, wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world when men can be found inclined to take it."⁶ All of Lincoln's efforts were thus concentrated on the expressed recognition of the essential evil of slavery. The implementation of such a policy would consist of preventing it from spreading further into the territories.

Randall regards the question of the right of the people to accept or reject slavery as "a limited and comparatively unimportant aspect of that subject." Lincoln regarded this as the crux of the whole question. "When [Judge Douglas] invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he 'cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up,' . . . he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people."⁷ Lincoln argued against popular determination in this instance because no majority has the right to decide such fundamental questions. For him, such fundamental questions were not an object of popular decision.

Second, Randall contends that the Lincoln-Douglas "canvas" was not an effort to work out a formula of agreement.⁸ According to his interpretation, the debaters did not strive for a solution of governmental problems, but merely for popular effect and party advantage.⁹

Lincoln firmly believed that the only way to combat slavery lay in a scrupulous assertion of principle. "I hate [this declared indifference for the spread of slavery] because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world, — enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, — criticizing the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest."¹⁰ The whole slavery question becomes meaningless and unintelligible, Lincoln would say, unless there is a way of judging which policy is right and which policy is wrong. Lincoln, though willing to allow slavery to continue to exist with an eye toward gradual extinction, was for no compromise which permitted its extension into the free territories.

Randall's charge that the debaters were striving "merely for popular effect and popular advantage" is not new. Ambition had been ascribed to Lincoln during the debates. Just two weeks after the Alton debate, Lincoln answered that charge saying that he "claimed no insensibility to political honors; but today could the Missouri restriction be restored, and the whole slavery question replaced on the ground of 'toleration' by necessity where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in, an office, so long as we both or either, live."¹¹

And finally, Randall finds that "the statements flung about in the debates did not define the issue as a choice between the position taken by Lincoln and an opposite position taken by Douglas."¹² He concludes that "any attempt to add luster to Lincoln's fame by belittling Douglas or by exaggerating the seriousness of the differences between the two men, would be a perversion of history."¹³

Actually, however, history does not teach us that the debaters were in fundamental agreement. On practical grounds Lincoln's and Douglas' views toward slavery were the same, that is, they both opposed its spreading into the territories. But Douglas claimed that you could legislate against slavery if you wished, while Lincoln said that you could not because the Dred Scott decision made that impossible. And even if the Dred Scott decision had not made



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

VOLK STATUETTE OF DOUGLAS

that impossible, Lincoln would say, slavery is not a matter of national policy, but a fundamental moral issue. Douglas, on the other hand, saw no moral issue in the slavery question. "[Judge Douglas' contention that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them] is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. . . . That he looks to no end to the institution of slavery . . . will help the people to see what the struggle really is. It will hereafter place us with all men who really do wish the wrong may have an end."¹⁴

Lincoln formulated the issue clearly and simply. He firmly believed that the Declaration of Independence, if properly understood and applied, could become a solid foundation for democratic government. To mention only the most obvious point, he believed that Judge Douglas' contention—that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them—was a defiance of such principles. Slavery as an institution was so completely a denial of individual freedom that its further spread was for him intolerable. In the last analysis, the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 were one of the decisive events in American history.

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FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

VOLK STATUETTE OF LINCOLN

Fairbanks Received Lincoln Diploma of Honor

DURING THE Lincoln Memorial University Commencement exercises held on June 6, 1955, Dr. Avard T. Fairbanks, the Dean of the College of Fine Arts, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor.

This annual award (Lincoln Herald, October 1948) is in recognition of distinguished service in the field of Lincolniana in the interpretation of the life, deeds, and immortality of Abraham Lincoln.

Since 1939 the honor has been conferred on those who have rendered a particular service and the recipients have been authors, actors, playwrights, historians, bibliographers, sculptors, artists, and editors.

The 1955 award was conferred on Dr. Fairbanks for his outstanding heroic bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln which was unveiled at the New Salem Village in Illinois on June 21, 1954. "The Resolute Lincoln" might be an apt title for his magnificent study in bronze.

In presenting Dr. Fairbanks to President Robert L. Kincaid and the vast commencement audience assembled, Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry revealed that in July "Dr. Fairbanks will unveil in Greece, gigantic in size and in bronze, his statue of Lysurgus, the great lawyer

of ancient Sparta who in the 9th century B. C., laid the foundation for constitutional government in western civilization."

Dr. Kincaid presented to Dr. Fairbanks the etched certificate, the work of Dr. Barnardt Wall, enclosed in a leather folder with the recipient's name stamped in gold on the front cover. The diploma was signed by the President of the College, the President of the Board of Trustees, and the Director of the Department of Lincolniana.

The committee whose task is to select the recipient of the award consists of Robert L. Kincaid, President of Lincoln Memorial University; Newton C. Farr, President of the Board of Trustees; R. Gerald McMurtry, Director of the Department of Lincolniana; Carl W. Schaefer; Ralph G. Newman; William H. Townsend and Stanley H. Byram, Trustees.

On Sunday evening, June 5, 1955, Dr. Fairbanks gave an illustrated lecture on Lincoln before a capacity crowd assembled in the Lincoln Room. During the course of his dramatic address, he molded a clay head of the Sixteenth President modeled after the facial measurements of the original study by Leonard Volk made in 1860 when Lincoln was beardless and fifty-one years of age.



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

DR. AVARD T. FAIRBANKS modeling clay head of Lincoln during lecture delivered in Lincoln Room at Lincoln Memorial University, Sunday evening, June 5, 1955.

A MAJOR RARITY in the Lincoln Memorial University collection is the "Ode Recited At The Commemoration Of The Living and Dead Soldiers of Harvard University July 21, 1865" by James Russell Lowell. This work is a first edition and one of only 50 copies of which this is number 28. The brochure bears the imprint, "Cambridge Privately Printed 1865," and is Royal 8 Vo. in original boards, paper label on front cover, gilt top, in a half-blue levant case. The fly-leaf is inscribed by the author to "Miss Marcia Dunlap, with affectionate regards of J. R. L. 3rd Sept, 1865."

A printed note on the leaf following the title reads, "A few passages which would have made the Poem too long in the reading are added in this printed copy." This additional matter includes the sixth stanza, which gives a characterization of Lincoln, which was likely not written at the time of the delivery of the Ode at Harvard.

Inserted into the fly-leaves of this 25-page brochure is a manuscript poem bearing the title,

"Abraham Lincoln, July, 1865"

And, standing like a tower.
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, forseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not
blame
New birth of our new soil, the first American.
James Russell Lowell

Deerfoot Farm
Southborough, Mass., U.S.A.
20th Jan. 1887
J. R. Lowell

These words are the closing lines of stanza six.

This printed item (M. 608) considered by many experts as one of the rarest Lincoln publications extant, along with the manuscript poem came to Lincoln Memorial University as a gift from Ralph G. Newman, Chicago, Illinois.

Perhaps the best evaluation of the Ode from a literary standpoint as well



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

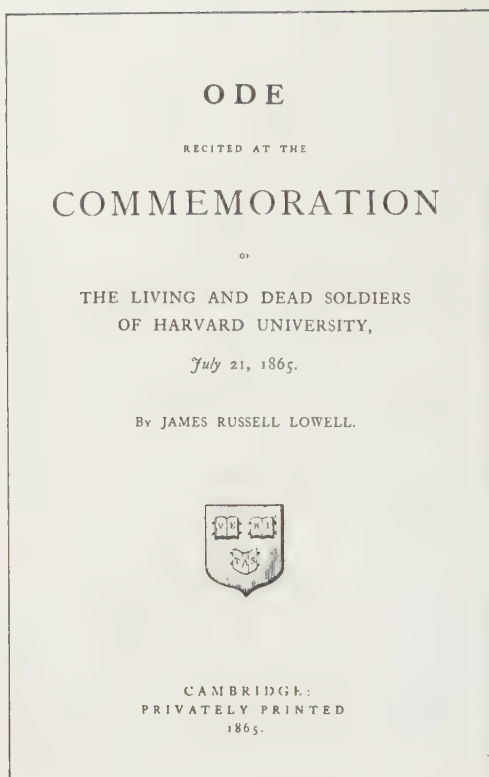
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

as its importance as a collector's item appeared in "The Month at Goodspeeds," March 1946, Volume XVII, Number 6, pages 189-193 at which time they offered copy number 40 for sale. This article is published with the permission of Goodspeeds' Book Shop, 18 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

COMMEMORATION ODE

Occasional poems, metered on demand, are notoriously tough propositions. The poet must feel like a comedian abruptly requested to do something funny or like a hen asked to lay an egg. If the outcome is snafu, that's what should be expected.

Candidate for the honor of being the best occasional poem ever written by an American is James Russell Lowell's so-called "Commemoration Ode." Lowell was a tired man and a saddened man when he wrote it. He mourned the death of three beloved nephews in that war



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION

TITLE PAGE OF "COMMEMORATION ODE"

which was to be the setting of the poem he was asked to write. He felt that he could not bring it off. Both legend and fact tell how he did it.

The legend was created by a lady who allegedly had the story from Mrs. Lowell, to the effect on the evening of July 20, 1865, the poet sent his wife to bed, while he sat up all night and in the brief space of six hours wrote a noble poem of 523 lines in the exacting strophes and antistrophes of Pindar. We do not like to spoil a good story, but the facts are hardly less dramatic.

Two days before he was to read a then unwritten poem before the gathering assembled at exercises in commemoration of Harvard soldiers, living and dead, Lowell told Professor Child that the job was impossible, that he felt dull as a doormat. "But the next day something gave me a jog and the whole

thing came out of me with a rush," wrote Lowell afterwards. It seems to have taken nearer twenty-four than six hours to write one of the noblest of American poems, a sufficiently remarkable feat for a man who then considered his poetry-writing days a dozen years behind him, and at a tempo of composition which he thought had "lost in the skirts of (his) professor's gown." And, on that memorable night before, he did sit at his desk till four, making a fair copy. But the effort left him flat for a fortnight. "I eat and smoke and sleep," he wrote to Jane Norton, "and go through all the nobler functions of a man mechanically still, and wonder at myself as at something outside of and alien to Me. For have I not worked myself lean on an 'Ode For Commemoration.'"

For two days he tried his lines on every friend who came near, and even fell into "the old folly of hopeful youth" in believing that at last he had written something good. His candor is delightful in his letters, in which, incidentally, he reveals himself as one of the finest gentlemen of American letters, and in spite of much past sorrow, one of the sprightliest. He hoped that his "Ode" would be "the feature" of the occasion (he confesses, in mock wistfulness), and afterwards got a line in the paper about "some graceful verses," while the feature of the day turned out to be the moving prayer of young Phillips Brooks. Fifteen years later, in England, Lowell walked into his host's house to come upon John Bright reading the "Ode" aloud. "It sounded better than I feared."

The famous passage in the "Ode" about Lincoln—which Scudder calls Lowell's final expression of a judgment that had been slowly forming in his mind—was not recited, for it was written after the Commemoration day. "Into these threescore lines Lowell has poured a conception of Lincoln which may justly be said to be today the accepted idea which Americans hold of

their great President," wrote Scudder. Back in 1860 Lowell had been disappointed that Lincoln and not Seward had been nominated, but soon he felt otherwise. "I did divine him earlier than most men of the Brahmin caste." Lowell never saw Lincoln but he had written an article about him that pleased the President. The Lincolnian stanza (the sixth), though a later addition, is one of the finest parts of the poem and its most quoted passage.

The general dedication of the "Ode" is to the ninety-three Harvard men who died in "the War of Nationality," as Lowell called it. But there is a further dedication: "This edition of my Commemoration Ode, printed for friends, is inscribed to those of my own kin who have fallen, not as singling them out for selfish praise, but because they were chiefly in my heart as I wrote." Among the eight kinsmen whose names appear was William Jackson Putnam, to whom Lowell refers in a letter to James B. Thayer: "I confess I have never got over the feeling of wrath with which (just after the death of my nephew Willie) I read in an English paper that nothing was to be hoped of an army officered by tailors' apprentices and butcher boys. . . . I was longer in getting the new (eleventh) strophe to my mind than in writing the rest of my poem. In that I hardly changed a word . . ." In that stanza he spoke of American butcher boys. There was a good reason for the fire burning beneath the dignity of this most noble of American occasional poems.

The "Commemoration Ode," like the "Gettysburg Address," seemed at first to have misfired. Two leading Boston newspapers, in long accounts of the Harvard memorial exercises, failed to mention Lowell's contribution. But when the poem reached the general (though of course select) public of *The Atlantic Monthly* (September, 1865) it was recognized as one of Lowell's finest efforts and one of the few great poems

to come out of the War Between The States.

The "Commemoration Ode" was delivered at Harvard on July 21, 1865, and soon afterward was privately printed in an edition of fifty copies, of which we now possess No. 40. All but one of the known numbered copies are inscribed — this one "For Benjamin Pierce, with cordial regards of J. R. Lowell, 3rd Sept. 1865." The recipient was a famous Harvard professor, librarian, and historian, a distinguished astronomer and the leading American mathematician of his time.

In Hamilton Vaughan Bail's *Census Of Copies* the following note appears in connection with this copy: "The recipient's grandson, Benjamin Peirce Ellis, states this copy was presented to the Public Library of the City of Boston, 1910; it cannot now be located." Mr. Ellis tells us that the copy was sold about 1910 and that he had been given to understand that the purchaser intended to give it to the Public Library. This never happened, however, and it was bought and resold by us many years ago.

Beyond its rarity and literary importance, this first printing of the "Commemoration Ode" is a fine specimen of American bookmaking. It is a quarto of 25 pages, bound in boards, with a paper label on the front cover, and with pale green end papers. Its excellent title page, which you see here is in red and black.



THREE ORATORY MASTERPIECES

In a lecture delivered in 1913, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, said that the three masterpieces of modern parliamentary oratory were Lincoln's Gettysburg address, Lincoln's Second Inaugural address and the toast of William Pitt after the victory at Trafalgar.—

Greenbie Criticises Williams' Review

By SYDNEY GREENBIE

SEVERAL EMINENT SCHOLARS and writers have brought to my attention the return of Kenneth Williams to the attack on us and our book ANNA ELLA CARROLL AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in the *Herald*, fall of 1953, which I had missed. I do not intend to make further reply to any historical point that Williams may raise, because he has already muddled up the facts beyond recognition, but I must rise to a point of personal privilege. Referring to a communication by my wife which I had quoted in my *Reply to Williams*, *Herald*, Spring, 1953, Williams says I did not quote this exactly.

"Mr. Greenbie tidied it up by omitting quite a choice word and otherwise rewrote it. Mr. Greenbie showed not only lack of scholarly standards but a lack of good judgment when he misquoted a letter of which I have the original. . . . And the paragraph in his wife's letter that he changed was the very one that flaunts the Yale degree as a warranty (sic) of honest work."

I DID NOT quote the letter of which Williams says he has the original, and Williams knows it. What my wife had written was, "Brought up as I was in the greatest tradition of American learning at Yale University, where I obtained my Ph. D., I am shocked that any member of the faculty of a great American University should stoop to this kind of academic foul play." This is what she wrote. This is what I quoted. I did not change it or tidy it up in any way. The communication from which I quoted was from my wife to Mr. Barnhart, edi-

tor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. So that Mr. Williams may identify it, I here give the title and the first paragraph:

"WHO IGNORED THE RECORDS?"

A Complaint against Kenneth P. Williams
by Marjorie Barstow Greenbie.

"Ever since the publication of the September 1950 issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History* of the leading article *The Tennessee Campaign and Anna Ella Carroll* by Kenneth P. Williams, I HAVE BEEN DEMANDING THE RIGHT to refute certain charges there lodged against me. It is gratifying that, at long last, the editor is now yielding to my demand."

This is the first paragraph. The paragraph I quoted was the second and I quoted it exactly. This is the reply to Williams of which Williams says "no reply was offered" by us. That Mr. Williams is aware that I am quoting the second paragraph of this communication is indicated by his own words, "I am advised that this was not a letter." Now he tries to muddy it up by saying I "tidied up" a passage I never quoted. If we were to disentangle the facts from this strange conglomeration of nothing about "a letter" and "not a letter", Mr. Williams would have to say, "I know you quote exactly from a communication from Mrs. Greenbie to the editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. But I choose not to call this communication a letter and therefore I will look at a letter Mrs. Greenbie wrote me on the same subject, and finding something a little different, I will charge Mr. Greenbie with changing, re-writing, and with dishonesty. What can you do with a man who accuses me of some-

thing he admits in the same breath I did not quote?

Since Williams insists on referring to these letters, I am forced to give the details again. These letters were written to Williams, to the editor of the *Magazine of History*, and to the President of Indiana University, in an effort to make Williams retract two statements to which he had given wide currency in the magazine, in a re-print, and in a reading before a University. These statements were:

1. That my wife's first book on Anna Ella Carroll entitled *MY DEAR LADY* was "unannotated". We were trying to make him admit that there were 27 pages of notes and sources in the book. And

2. That's my wife "ignored the records" meaning *The War of the Rebellion Official Records*. We were trying to force him to admit that the references pertinent to the Tennessee campaign, to which he referred as if they were his own discovery, were given by volume and page on pages 282 and 283 of *MY DEAR LADY*.

Finally, in response to our repeated demand that he publish this correction of Williams' misstatements, the editor of the *Magazine of History* said he would consider a brief reply. In an effort to be brief, we finally sent a communication compacting the previous letters into a single statement. It was from this that I quoted. I quoted exactly. The editor did NOT publish it.

And now finally, and for all time, I ask whether, in the handling of any evidence, past or present, it is right to quote literally in such a way as to convey an erroneous impression. In the "Reply to Sydney Greenbie" here under discussion, Williams begins by saying: "Mr. Greenbie speaks of delivering a *coup de grace* that will explain 'every possible weakness in the story of Anna Ella Carroll' . . .". Now it is one thing to say that "Kenneth Williams will have assailed every possible weakness", as I did, and quite another to make me say that I would "explain" weaknesses in our book which I never admitted.

—SYDNEY GREENBIE

Williams' Reply

In his reply to my review of the book by himself and Mrs. Greenbie, Mr. Greenbie (*Lincoln Herald*, Spring, 1953, p. 40) says: "Hence, with regard to this whole matter of Scott, I can only subscribe to the words of my wife in the 'sharp letter' to *him* to which Williams refers in his review, but does not quote: 'Brought up as I was . . . academic foul play.'" (Italics mine) Mr. Greenbie now states that his quotation is from a communication sent, not to me, but to Mr. Barnhard, editor of the *Indiana*

Magazine of History, but does not explain why he did not say so in the first place. My statement "I am advised . . ." referred specifically to a quotation on pp. 37-38 of Mr. Greenbie's reply, whose location he did not give. It did not refer—though what he says above suggests that it did—to the quotation on p. 40 which he definitely said was in a letter to me. Whether Mr. Greenbie quoted accurately from a source different from what he said he was quoting, is entirely immaterial.

—KENNETH P. WILLIAMS



THE ROUND TABLES

Edited by A. E. GELDHOF

Chicago

The Chicago Civil War Round Table inaugurated its Fall season on Sept. 29 with a lively discussion of Buffalo Bill, sparked by Don Russell's talk on "Buffalo Bill in the Civil War." Don, former newspaper man and now an assistant editor of the American People's Cyclopedia, admitted that Col. Cody's participation in the war was not spectacular, but nevertheless an active one.

The famous scout fought several Indian battles in Missouri and took part with the 7th Kansas cavalry in fighting Sterling Price along the Missouri-Kansas border. Don also brought out that Cody fought in at least one battle east of the Mississippi, that at Tupelo, Miss., in 1864, as indicated in a letter he wrote his sister from that point.

On Oct. 21 Ben Thomas came up from Springfield to autograph copies of his new book, "Three Years with Grant," and to talk about it to the Round Table. He told several stories about the real author of the book, Sylvanus Cadwallader, that did not appear in the text, and read several excerpts that gave intimate pictures of Ulysses S. Grant.

The meeting on Nov. 18 was to have been addressed by Dr. Thomas D. Clark, head of the history department of the University of Kentucky, and William H. Townsend, the sage of Lexington, but illness laid Bill Townsend low in Lexington and while Dr. Clark reached Chicago, the hotel physician kept him confined to his room with a fever. In substitution for the two visitors, Bruce Denbo of the university staff made a short talk on Kentucky in the war and Dean Robert B. Browne of the University of Illinois delivered a fascinating extemporaneous address on General Custer of the flowing locks and the flashing sword.

With these excellent speakers and Ralph Newman's story of the foundation of the Civil War Centennial association, with Carl Haverlin as president, and detailing of the plans for the 1956 battlefield tour to Atlanta, the members were well rewarded.

The Centennial association will begin at once to make plans for a four year observance of the hundredth anniversary, beginning in 1961, in-

cluding preparing a calendar of activities and a great roundup of new manuscript material relating to the war.

The sixth annual northern invasion of the south will begin on May 16 when the 80 regular annual pilgrims and, it is hoped, at least 20 more will entrain for Chattanooga. The Chickamauga and Chattanooga battle fields will be visited on Thursday, the 17th and early on Friday, the 18th, and buses will then take the party along the route followed by Sherman in pursuit of Joseph E. Johnston through Dalton and Resaca to Atlanta, where a joint meeting with the Atlanta Round Table will be held Friday evening.

Saturday will be given up to a trip to Kennesaw mountain and its adjacent battlefields, the return trip to be made Sunday afternoon.

Atlanta being a hotbed of CWRT activity with a healthy membership, which is busy with plans for showing the northerners some real deep south hospitality, the Chicago members are looking forward to enjoying some fatback, chitlin's and hush-puppies.

The Chicago tour committee is made up of Jerry Slechta, chairman, Gilbert Twiss, Allan Oakey, William Tierney, O. H. Felton, Elmer Gordon, Ralph Newman, and the officers, E. B. Long, Marshall Rissman and Robert Douglas, ex-officio.

The Chicago members were introduced to an innovation on Dec. 9 in the way of a Christmas party at the luxurious quarters of the Svithioe Singing Club, embellished by a groaning smorgasbord—or is that good Swedish?

Christmas day being also the birthday of Newton C. Farr, he was surprised at the party with a birthday cake which topped off the smorgasbord. As entertainment, Keith Clark of Ottawa, folk singer, rendered some of his own numbers, and Paul Vanderbilt of the University of Wisconsin library brought down and exhibited two films, one a reproduction of Civil War artists' drawings and the second a showing of a number of Brady photographs of battlefield scenes.

Somewhat to the embarrassment of the officers, there were more ladies than gentlemen at the party!

Kenneth P. Williams, of the University of

Indiana and of "Lincoln Finds a General" fame, addressed the Chicago group on Jan. 12 on "Buell's Move into Kentucky." His theme was that General-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck was not to blame for Don Carlos Buell's delay in marching from Corinth to Chattanooga in the spring of 1862. Halleck has been charged with ordering Buell to rebuild the railroads as he went, but Prof. Williams showed from the records that most of the railroads were in good condition and were used by Buell's army.

A spirited discussion followed which demonstrated that the speaker had not convinced his audience that "Old Brains" was entirely blameless.

On Feb. 17, Prof. Charles H. Coleman of the Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston, addressed the group on the subject of his recent book, *Thomas Lincoln*, whose farm was on Goosenest Prairie a few miles south of Charleston. Prof. Coleman upheld the view that relations between the president and his father were always of the best.

Atlanta

The Atlanta CWRT inaugurated its fall season on Sept. 21 at the Variety club with a talk by Ralph Newman, father of the Chicago Round Table and godfather of several others. He discussed the Civil War Book club and the plan for the Chicago group to visit Chattanooga, Kenesaw Mountain and Atlanta on its 1956 battlefield tour.

"Confederate Medicine" was the topic of Dr. Morgan B. Raiford, one of the Atlanta members, on Oct. 20, and on Nov. 10 Harnett B. Kane of New Orleans, author of "The Smiling Rebel," gave hot spots in the dramatic career of Belle Boyd.

Atlanta held its annual "Christmas truce" party on Dec. 9 at the Atlanta Historical Society headquarters.

—BEVERLY M. DUBOISE

Madison

The Madison Civil War Round Table was organized at a meeting on June 4, 1955. Several area residents, members of the Milwaukee and Chicago Round Tables, discovered a good deal of sentiment in favor of founding a separate unit and the Madison CWRT came into being. Present at the organization meeting were Maynard Brichford, William E. Hesseltine, Herbert A. Kellar, Allan E. Oakey, George Rodgeron, H. L. Shands, Clement Silvestro, Jerome Slechts, Russell Spindler, Philip Staudenraus, William Tierney and Paul Vanderbilt. The decision was taken that dinner-discussion meetings would be held the second Wednesday in each month.

Officers were elected at the second session on July 13. Herbert A. Kellar, coordinator of the McCormick Collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was chosen presi-

dent; Allan E. Oakey, USN Ret., became secretary-treasurer. The program of the evening featured a recording of William Townsend's lecture on Cassius Marcellus Clay.

At the August 10 meeting, Dr. Kellar discussed the "Diary of Robert White Summers," an intimate account of the wartime activities of his maternal grandfather, a private in the 77th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers who was taken prisoner at Mansfield, La., in 1864 and confined at Camp Ford, near Tyler, Texas.

Paul Vanderbilt, curator of prints and photographs at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and editor of *Eye to Eye*, quarterly of the Graphic History Society of America, offered "The Photography of the Civil War" at the September 14 meeting. Members viewed portions of the work of Mathew Brady and his corps of assistants and other Civil War photographers, and were treated to an illuminating presentation of many technical aspects of photography in the 1860's.

The organization's president, Dr. Herbert Kellar, died suddenly on Oct. 8. The monthly meeting was postponed to Oct. 19, at which time William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin professor of history, presented his account of "Old Dr. Ramsay's War." Prof. Hesseltine detailed the story of J.G.M. Ramsay's efforts to bring the "iron horse" to east Tennessee, spoke about Ramsay's pro-slavery views and discussed the role of the Tennessee River in the history of the region. Prof. Hesseltine was unanimously elected president to succeed Dr. Kellar.

The Nov. 9 meeting featured two films which Mr. Vanderbilt obtained from Lewis Jacobs, an independent producer of New York City. The first, "Lincoln Speaks at Gettysburg," which won an honor medal for Mr. Jacobs from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, uses wood-engravings from the periodical press of Civil War days and other "still" material to bring the Gettysburg address and the events preceeding it vividly to life. The second movie, "Mathew Brady, Photographer of an Era," employs many of the famous photographs made by Brady and his assistants to tell the story of his enterprise. A discussion period, centering about which draft of his address Lincoln actually presented at Gettysburg, followed the showing of the films.

—ALLAN E. KENT

Washington

The highlight of the Washington program for last fall was the tour of "Mosby's Confederacy" on Saturday, Sept. 24, led and narrated by V. C. (Pat) Jones, Mosby's biographer. Three bus loads of hardy fans braved a chill downpour to travel over the locale of John S. Mosby's guerilla operations in northern Virginia, including visits to the home in Loudoun county from a window of which Mosby was shot and wounded in December,

1864, the Hathaway home near The Plains, where Mrs. Mosby resided and where Mosby escaped a Federal search party by swinging to a huge walnut tree outside his bedroom window—a tree which is still there—and the old hotel at Millwood where the partisan leader met his men for the last time after Appomattox.

A luncheon program at Front Royal, with Mosby's grandson, Beverly Coleman of Washington, and his wife in attendance, included talks by Jones and the Rev. Richard H. Forrester of Front Royal, a local historian. The trip home included a stop at Marshall, formerly Salem, where Mosby made his farewell address to the 43d Battalion and disbanded them on April 21, 1865. Here Pat Jones recited the farewell address.

The meeting on Nov. 15 marked our move from the Army & Navy club to larger quarters, made necessary by the steady growth of the Round Table, in the Dolly Madison room of Braun's Armon restaurant, 1320 G st. N.W. The speaker at the first meeting in this spacious and luxurious room was Rupert H. Johnson of New York, a former army officer, who discussed Stonewall Jackson's Valley campaign.

On Oct. 18 Dr. Otto Eisenschiml of Chicago spoke on "An Unorthodox view of the Civil War." He appeared fairly orthodox and drew no argument from his audience until he presented his own ratings on Civil War generals. Here the noted controversialist provoked a vigorous debate that continued long after he had returned to his "Civil War Laboratory" in Chicago.

Using results which the generals achieved in relation to the forces at their command and considering the opposition with which they were confronted, Dr. Eisenschiml gave this as his own lineup:

Four stars: Union, none; Confederate, Nathan B. Forrest.

Three stars: Union, none; Confederate, Stonewall Jackson.

Two stars: Union, George H. Thomas and Fitz John Porter; Confederate, James Longstreet and Joseph E. Johnston.

One star: Union, George B. McClellan and Ulysses S. Grant; Confederate, Robert E. Lee and Pierre Beauregard.

Minus one star: Union, Ambrose Burnside and Henry W. Halleck; Confederate, Braxton Bragg.

Forrest, his mind unsullied by education, with a superior native intelligence, did more with the forces at his command than any other general, Confederate or Union, the speaker said. Grant may have been a great general, but we have no way of knowing, he said, because except at Belmont and on the first day at Shiloh he never had to face the enemy on even terms. Lee's great fault he cited as the fact that he never knew when to stop fighting.

His was perhaps the most thought-provoking lecture the Round Table has heard.

The December meeting on the 13th was entertained by Captain Samuel G. Kelly, USN,

with a story of the ill-fated Red River expedition and its extrication from the Louisiana swamps. At the meeting on Jan. 10, Rep. George A. Dondero of Michigan, a master story teller, regaled us with "Some Civil War Reminiscences," given to him first hand by survivors of the conflict.

Our member Francis Wilshin, National Park service historian at the Fredericksburg battlefield, has been promoted and ordered to Manassas as superintendent of the Manassas National Military park.

—EUGENE P. GEMPEL

Houston

The Houston CWRT is enjoying its second year of activity. In September, Col. Norman P. Morrow (RET.) spoke on Gen. Price's expedition in Missouri in 1864. The following month Harnett Kane entertained us with a resume of his new book on Belle Boyd. In November Joe Petty gave us a thorough discussion of Gen. Sibley's expedition into New Mexico in 1862.

Our officers for 1955-6 are Walter H. Hebert, president, Ed Arnold, vice president, and Joe Petty, secretary-treasurer.

—W. H. HEBERT

New York

The New York Round Table met on Sept. 29 to view two films of the CBS series, "You Are There," "The Emancipation Proclamation" and "The Death of Stonewall Jackson." Following the presentation President John C. Pemberton invited comment. Tom O. Warfield quickly pointed out that in the first film a three ring binder, not invented until after the Civil War, was used. Ben Barondess also noted a number of flaws, but felt that the picture carried the force of that historic occasion.

On Oct. 18 James D. Horan, New York historian and newspaper man, talked about Mathew B. Brady as he grew to know him in writing his new book "Mathew B. Brady, Historian with a Camera." Horan confessed to frustration in tracing Brady's life through written records; he was able to locate only a few papers bearing his signature. But he told interestingly of going through the L. C. Handy collection of Brady negatives in the Library of Congress.

With the exception of the tribute meeting to Carl Sandburg of December, 1954, the meeting of Nov. 7 attracted the largest and most distinguished gathering. Carl Haverlin paid tribute to North Callahan, last year's president, and presented him with a special Round Table plaque attesting his leadership, which brought the organization to heights of achievement in membership, caliber of programs, material assets and general interest.

Mr. Callahan then presented as speaker of

the evening Hartnett T. Kane of New Orleans, who presented a highly entertaining portrait of Belle Boyd, "the Smiling Rebel."

Present were Harold W. Kuebler of Hanover House, Fred K. Rinehart of Rhinehart publishers, H. Allen Gosnell, author of "Guns on the Western Waters," John Bakeless, author of "The Eyes of Discovery" and "Daniel Boone, Master of the Wilderness," Dr. Edwin S. Burdell, president of Cooper Union, Dr. Harriet H. Shoen, distinguished historian, Dorothy Bobbe, author of "Abigail Adams," "DeWitt Clinton," etc., Dr. David H. Moskowitz of the New York Board of Education, Rhea Talley, newspaper woman, and a number of new members.

Fletcher Pratt, whose newest work on the Civil War is "The Civil War in Pictures," was the speaker on Dec. 13. He pointed out that people who lived through the Civil War got their impressions of the battles from the sketches artists sent back from the field, and told how the sketches were done in pencil in the field and then carefully copied by artists and engravers back in the newspaper offices.

Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant 3rd (RET). was the speaker to a highly attentive and distinguished audience on Jan. 24. He touched on various aspects of the Civil War and gave details of the family life of his grandfather. It was an unusual affair in that the grandson of the loser at Vicksburg, John C. Pemberton III, president of the New York Round Table, had the pleasure of introducing the grandson of the winning general

Fletcher Pratt has turned the manuscript of his new book, "The Civil War", over to the Round Table's library collection, making the third of his original manuscripts now in the collection.

—ARNOLD GATES

Los Angeles

The Civil War Round Table of Southern California at its meet-

ing on Nov. 10 elected the following officers: President, Percival G. Hart; vice president, John C. Hogan; vice president, Justin G. Turner; secretary-treasurer, John Valentine (since deceased). Executive committee: Fred G. Campbell, Lewis Edelberg, T. A. Fritchey, Mort Lewis, John McHugh, Maurice Ries, Irving Stone, J. D. Wood and Jake Zeitlin.

Harnett Kane spoke at the meeting on Oct. 17 on Belle Boyd, and on Dec. Dr. Arthur R. Kooker, chairman of the department of history of the University of Southern California, spoke on Lincoln and Seward, dealing largely with the divergent views on the conduct of the war in its first year.

The California group has three classes of membership, regular at \$10 a year, associates at \$5 and student members at \$1. It hopes to publish a booklet in June listing the charter members.

—JUSTIN G. TURNER

If different artists had painted Lincoln



FROM THE L. M. U. COLLECTION
"Futurist."

In the files of the Lincoln Room at Lincoln Memorial University there is a series of ten small pictures (of various sizes) depicting Lincoln as he would have been portrayed if he had been a subject of the great master painters. They were first published in the February 14, 1918 issue of (old) *Life*.

These pictures are in no particular order, bear no artist's name and have no date or imprint. However, a typewritten label indicates that they were drawn by Power O'Malley. A study of these portraits fails to reveal the artist's intent. Was he serious or facetious? People who have examined them have various reactions. Some view them as a serious study; while others think they are ludicrously funny.

The portrait selected for this issue of the *Lincoln Herald* is signed Futurist.

The remaining portraits will be published in subsequent issues of this magazine.

IN THE LITERARY FIELD

BOOK NEWS DIGEST

By E. B. LONG, *Literary Editor*

It has been a full winter indeed in the Civil War and Lincoln fields with more to come. As this literary editor is retiring from this pleasant task he wishes to thank all those who have so generously aided him and participated in this section.

One of the major projects in many years is now underway. *The Centennial History of the Civil War* to be written by Bruce Catton will be published in three volumes by Doubleday starting in 1961. Author Catton will be assisted by E. B. Long as research editor.

Also forthcoming are such volumes as Catton's *This Hallowed Ground*, covering the North in the Civil War; the fourth volume of K. P. Williams' *Lincoln Finds A General*; *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army* by Dudley Taylor Cornish; *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel*, the story of the Sanitary Commission by William Q. Maxwell; a one volume narrative of Robert E. Lee's war years by Burke Davis entitled *Gray Fox*; and William Pittenger's *The Great Locomotive Chase*, a reissue. In the works for the future are a book on Lincoln as a lawyer by John J. Duff of New York and a biography of Lincoln's father by Charles H. Coleman of Charleston, Ill. The Confederate Publishing Company of Tuscaloosa, Ala., is issuing a series of *Confederate Centennial Studies* to be edited by W. Stanley Hoole of the University of Alabama. The first monograph will be *The Decisive Battle of Nashville* by Stanley F. Horn.

Books recently published are *Congress and the Civil War* by Edward Boykin; *Edwin D. Morgan, 1811-1883; Merchant in Politics* by James A.

Rawley; a biography of John B. Gordon by Allen P. Tankersley; *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd*, edited by his daughter Nettie Mudd; a reissue of Roy Basler's *Abraham Lincoln; His Speeches and Writings*; *The South Lives In History*; *Southern Historians and Their Legacy* by Wendell Holmes Stephenson; and David D. Mearns' address on Lincoln's religion entitled *Christian Without a Creed*, published by St. John's Church of Washington, D. C. In the novel field there is Robert Penn Warren's *Band of Angels* and Harnett Kane's *Smiling Rebel*.

Richard B. Harwell has done another outstanding editing job with *Destruction and Reconstruction* by Richard Taylor. There have also been several fine pamphlets recently published. Richard Harwell has edited and written an introduction for *The Death of Lee*, an excellent reprint of the *Southern Collegian* of Oct. 15, 1870, the Washington College paper, published in the Emory University Sources and Reprints series. Benjamin Barondess of New York has written for the New York Civil War Round Table, *The Adventure of the Missing Briefs*, an exciting account of the search for two briefs of law cases tried by Lincoln before the U. S. Supreme Court. Dick Squires with his busy Lincoln Press in Bedford, Ohio, made a survey of the outstanding Lincoln biographies and in his pamphlet *The "Best" Lincoln Biography* gives top place to the one volume *Abraham Lincoln* by Benjamin P. Thomas, with Carl Sandburg's one volume life second. Squires is also planning to publish *Lincolnians . . . A Specialized Biographical Dictionary*.

Book Reviews

THEN: THERE WAS A NEW LINCOLN

by EDWIN O. KLEMM

Book, cloth, 8 1/4" x 5 1/2", 94 pp., Pageant Press, Inc. Price \$2.50.

It is the belief of the author that "acts of God" play a great part in our history and that they had a major role in the time of Abraham Lincoln. A mechanical engineer from Saginaw, Mich., Klemm states "The Theme, not the author guided the writing of this book. All I did was merely marshal the astounding facts in the wake of the forward progress of God's influence among the leaders of men in the history of the United States." In a series of episodes using many quotations and familiar Lincoln stories and events the author brings out his thesis of the divine influence which he believes can be explained only as "intercessions by God" in the affairs of our country, its leaders and its ordinary citizens.

—E B L

★ ★ ★

CIVIL WAR IN PICTURES

by FLETCHER PRATT

Book, cloth, 11 1/4" x 8 1/2", 255 pp., illus., Henry Holt and Company. Price \$10.

MATHEW BRADY:

HISTORIAN WITH A CAMERA

by JAMES D. HORAN

Book, cloth, 12" x 9 1/4", 243 pp., illus., Crown Publishers. Price \$7.50.

Sometimes it seems that there are several too many picture books of the Civil War and with the high prices of nearly all of them it is remarkable that they sell. However, each of them adds something to the overall coverage of the war, at least for many average readers. All of them, though, appear to have their faults. This is true of two of the latest.

Horan in *Mathew Brady* presents a biography with about 500 pictures. There is of course no fresh material at present unearthed which throws very much light on Brady himself. There is more about the pictures than Brady in the book; and probably through no fault of the author the man Brady just isn't brought out. It is possible that with diligent search a real biography can be written but it will take time

and until that is done Horan's work is a very satisfactory stop-gap. There are a few errors but the reproductions are generally quite good and the volume radiates the feeling of the pioneer photographer and his great and sensitive work, both by him and his somewhat forgotten assistants who took many of the pictures. However, Horan is in error in saying that a large per cent of the illustrations in the illustrated weeklies of the war are taken from Brady pictures. Very few of them were.

As can be seen in Pratt's book most of the weekly pictures were artistic conceptions of varying degrees of accuracy historically and with great variance in skill of work. Pratt has produced a volume of drawings taken mainly from Harper's Weekly with some from Leslie's. It is a splendid idea but the book falls short in some ways. Reproduction is sometimes inferior, perhaps by necessity; there is no index and the price seems very high. The text is almost entirely an explanation of the pictures and that is good if it were interspaced with a commentary of the war in general so that the average reader can grasp the significance of the pictures. There is nothing to connect the story. This could have been done with care and brevity and with more attention to identification of people, places and dates. For those without the originals, and they are the majority of those interested, it is a valuable summary of the art of the war. It would have been better to use more from other publications but the Harper's were far the best as apparently Pratt found out in making his generally good choices.

—E B L

★ ★ ★

ANDERSONVILLE

by MACKINLEY KANTOR

Book, cloth, 9 1/2" x 6 1/4", 768 pp., World. Price \$5.00.

Before Hitler's Buchenwald, it would have been quite impossible for present readers to conceive of anything quite as horrible as man's inhumanity to fellow countrymen, viscerously portrayed at the Civil War prison of Andersonville. In the short period from November, 1863, until the end of the war, about 50,000 Union prisoners were received in this central Georgia stockade enclosing some 62 acres of filth and

disease, of which about 13,000 died during their confinement. How many more thousands died after their release cannot be estimated, but, certainly, Andersonville left its mark on all who came in contact with it—guards, prisoners, doctors, the community, and to some extent, the whole nation which was not allowed to forget during the period when waving the bloody shirt meant election to office.

MacKinlay Kantor has labored intermittently over a period of 25 years to produce one of the finest of Civil War books—a novel he calls it—but still, in all, a scholarly, well documented historical picture of an episode we would like to forget in an era we are presently trying to recall.

Kantor's picture is not painted with light strokes, deft though they be, but his earthy language seems necessary to the epic presentation. The work is more than a novel in that the story seems incidental to the panoramic view of a tragic incident of Civil War history; a view, which fictional though it may be in part, provides an insight into the confusion and lack of leadership within the confederacy. With his myoptic vision the Rebel War Clerk does no better.

There is no plot to this novel, but rather it is a parade of characters, not all fictional, most of whom walk on and off the scene in a chapter or less, contributing their moment of life and, usually, death to an overall effect. No one person is important to the story unless there be a very few historical characters who must bear part of the responsibility.

Captain Harry Wirz, superintendent of the prison, emerges as the sacrificial goat since he was the only Confederate officer executed after the war, but had General John Winder, Commissary General of Prison, survived, quite possibly he would have been the candidate, since one seemed to be needed. Numerous apologists have defended the treatment of the Andersonville prisoners, among them Dr. R. Randolph Stevenson, Confederate Chief Surgeon, who published a somewhat official report, "The Southern Side". In most of these the experience of the Southern prisoner in the North and the comparable appalling diseases and death rate in the Northern prisons is cited together with the refusal of Grant to exchange prisoners or send drugs or food for their use in response to the urgent importunities of Col. Robert Ould, Confederate Commissioner of Exchange. Grant that this may all be true, and manifestly, much of it was, nothing can explain the personal venom of General Winder, an "Old Army" man and West Point graduate, in violently opposing the removal of dying prisoners to a less filthy if not adequate place

outside the stockade, or in his refusal to provide any type of shelter from sun, rain or cold for those within. With water easily within reach, the prisoners were forced to obtain this necessity from a morass of human excrement and filth.

Mr. Kantor has not sought to reopen partially healed sores, but rather, has acted the part of a factual reporter in providing the background for the numerous little lives, romances and philosophies threading through his novel. In an interview with Leslie Cross, Kantor relates that he was many years collecting material for a novel of Andersonville which he meant to write at some distant date, but that it was his visit to Buchenwald and its attendant horrors that crystallized this determination. He has contributed something valuable to the story of America. All Civil War devotees hope it will provoke controversy as it seems Clifford Dowdey's "The Land We Fought For," may do.

—JERRY M. SLECHTA

★ ★ ★

TEXAS IN THE CONFEDERACY

by HARRY MC CORRY HENDERSON

Book, cloth, 8½" x 5¾", 166 pp., The Naylor Company, San Antonio. Price \$3.00.

Here is a book that lists not only every organization Texas contributed to the Confederacy, but also all the militia and home guards that were limited to state service. Presumably the list is complete, even to including the numbers of regiments never raised. But it is much more than a list, for it tells the history of every organization that had any notable service. At the top of this list of course is Hood's Texas Brigade, an account of which takes up about one-third of the space. Col. Henderson has not confined himself to battles and campaigns, but gets in a few amusing incidents. He tells how they were fed—"divided into messes of about six men each. Rations were issued to each mess and they did their own cooking—the most inefficient method of feeding troops possible . . . Men made social calls on officers in their quarters freely. . . . The 4th Texas Infantry had a brass band. . . . The most popular songs were 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' and 'The Bonnie Blue Flag'"—believe it or not no mention of 'The Yellow Rose of Texas.'

Terry's Texas Rangers, Walker's Texas Division, Sibley's Arizona Brigade and the brigades known by their commanders Ross, Green, and Granbury were among other organizations discussed in some detail. In the bibliography there was no mention of the Official Records, which might have added some information. There is an adequate index.

—DON RUSSELL

LINCOLN AND THE BLUEGRASS

by WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6½", 393 pp., illus., University of Kentucky Press. Price \$6.50.

Lincoln came out of the South but he was too young when he left Kentucky to have it affect him greatly except through family background, but he was to return. The visits to Lexington during the formative years of his political philosophy undoubtedly had considerable influence upon his future actions. The mere fact of his wife's heritage and his many friends in the Bluegrass coupled with his own Kentucky beginnings and the tragic status of the state in the coming struggle all add to the importance of the area on Lincoln.

Here we have a book that attempts to give us that influence upon Lincoln and transmits it to us in the masterly style of a fine story-teller, but not neglecting the history of it all. We walk the streets of Lexington during the years of Kentucky's development and we see the problems of the people, suffer with them, rejoice with them, and face the lowering shadows with them. We meet a wide, diverse and fascinating group of people as if we had lived there ourselves. The horse tamer and erstwhile employer of Lincoln, Denton Offut, the staunch Robert J. Breckenridge battling against slavery, Judge George Robertson and of course the magnetic and fiery Cassius Marcellus Clay. The Todd family and its many memories, the slaves, all join in the story which never misses its focus—Lincoln and the Bluegrass. Only rarely the narrative, in switching from Kentucky to Illinois, repeats some of the more maudlin Lincolniana.

Excellent photographs greatly enhance the book which grew from the out-of-print *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town*. But there is the result of twenty five years of collecting, research, and relentless hunting for the human elements of true history. If you want to live in ante-bellum Kentucky and meet the rising attorney and politician you have only to savor the pages of this volume.

—EBL

★ ★ ★

THADDEUS STEVENS

by RAPLH KORNGOLD

Book, cloth, 9" x 6¼", 460 pp., Harcourt, Brace and Company. Price \$6.00.

Thaddeus Stevens has seldom if ever been treated objectively. He probably wouldn't have wanted to have been so considered. He generated great heat in his lifetime and continues to do so. It extends to his biographers. Ralph Korngold in what is quite probably the best of all the biographies of Stevens is no different. He has

written an angry, pleading book. To Korngold, Stevens is a champion of all the oppressed, the have nots, the Negro, the people. To others he is a symbol of hatred, of perhaps worthy principles twisted and gnarled out of proportion to such an extent that he would have oppressed those whom he opposed—like so many who attach themselves to a "cause."

Korngold has spent many years in building up his case and in presenting his plea. The author believes as Stevens believed and never hides his opinions. But this book like Stevens can well engender emotional opposition or even anger that helped to partially defeat the purposes of Stevens' life. He never realized the sensitivity of the Southern people, or of people in general. Force, drive, argument, hammering home, all were part of the substance of his nature and personality. Seldom if ever lovable, Stevens must have been in many ways a lonely man and due to his own actions a misunderstood one. Korngold has shown us Stevens as he thinks he was and should be considered, "A being darkly wise and rudely great." Perhaps he was too dark and too rude for us to accept him today, despite Korngold's passionate plea.

—EBL

★ ★ ★

THE LIVING LINCOLN: The Man, His Mind, His Times, and the War he Fought, Reconstructed from his own Writings

Edited by

PAUL M. ANGLE AND EARL SCHENCK MIERS

Book, cloth, 9¼" x 6¼", 673 pp., Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J. Price \$6.95.

The study of Abraham Lincoln's life and words has never been the mere interest in a man of a dead gone age or a "closed incident" in American history. The serious students have always sensed that what Lincoln did and what he said contained encouragement and wise council for all time. In a certain sense this book is a revealing study of Lincoln's mind and how it functioned on the crucial problems of his day. How he reasoned and responded is what makes Abraham Lincoln the timeless spirit in our land. *The Living Lincoln*, therefore, is the biography of a noble soul and one of the clearest and most reflective minds America has ever produced. The clarity with which Lincoln reduced dry and difficult arguments to simple, every-day phrases is reason enough for admiration. Throughout the volume the incisive and complete logic of the man pulsates with vitality. His ready font of humor added warmth to what might easily have proven just routine. His sense of the long future is ever present.

While never beyond the people Lincoln was not orthodox or conventional in his approach

to their needs and problems. He avoided the flowery oratory common in his day just as he ignored its long winded and vaguely written sentences. The result is a power of words and an originality in thought rarely encountered in the public papers of America's leaders. If for no other reason than this it can be truly said that the interest in Abraham Lincoln, which Lincoln students in America and throughout the world share, has been sustained by the dynamic quality to the precepts which his words and very life represented.

To the student whose budget might prohibit purchasing *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* this admirable single volume of the letters and addresses of Abraham Lincoln proves a worthy substitute. In bringing together some of the very best of Lincoln's long and careful reflections Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers have achieved a great deal.

—ARNOLD GATES

☆ ☆ ☆

THREE YEARS WITH GRANT

Edited by BENJAMIN P. THOMAS

Sylvanus Cadwallader was the war correspondent closest to Gen. Grant. Late in the 19th century he wrote his recollections of the war and Grant. For years the manuscript lay unnoticed in the Illinois Historical Library. When it was brought to light again, its value was perceived. Ben Thomas edited the manuscript with his rare skill. The product is enhanced by his introduction, the dull material he cut out of the manuscript, his connecting passages in italics, and his notes. The result is a book which takes a place among the best of a decade. The original material adds much to the story of Ulysses Grant. And even for the amateur in Civil War studies it is fascinating reading.

This is a case where the personal story of one correspondent is better reading than one dealing with the activities of many correspondents. The book is best for the personal glimpses of Grant, Lincoln and others; for its anecdotes and for Cadwallader's and other's opinions of generals.

There have been many allusions to Grant's drinking in other works without pinpointing instances. Cadwallader says: "The truth was Gen. Grant had an inordinate love for liquors. He was not an habitual drinker. He could not drink moderately." Cadwallader was one who could lead Grant away from temptation and as such won the esteem of Maj. Gen. John A. Rawlins, Grant's Galena fellow townsman and chief of staff.

Thomas says, "through Cadwallader's eyes we see Lincoln stopped by a sentry when he

comes ambling into camp alone one day by a back way." There are other personal glimpses of Lincoln at City Point headquarters and elsewhere.

Thomas says "we learn that Grant thought more highly of Sheridan than of Sherman and we learn the reasons why." Cadwallader says Grant "considered Sheridan incomparably the greatest general our civil war produced. He could be more safely trusted with an independent army than any of them." . . . "He thought Sheridan free from many of Sherman's infirmities of temper, and cooler in judgment." Of Rawlins, Cadwallader says, "of all Grant's great campaigns he (Rawlins) is unquestionably entitled to one-half the praise, for the strategy." Cadwallader says Grant lacked confidence in Gen. Thomas who "never distinguished himself unqualifiedly in any independent command." Author Thomas believes Cadwallader's opinion "is scarcely valid in view of his (Gen. Thomas') action at Nashville."

Of other generals and personalities Cadwallader says: "Forrest was one of the ablest officers developed on either side, especially for partisan warfare" . . . Admiral Porter "by all odds the greatest humbug of the war. He absolutely never accomplished anything if unaided." . . . McClelland, Banks, Butler "and too many others . . . political" . . . Warren "egotistical, caution excessive" . . . Burnside "such an incompetent officer" . . . and "Dana was an innate gentleman—Stanton was not." Of Lee, Cadwallader says: "(he) was a gentleman—which fully and wholly expresses his behavior." and Grant: "always exhibited marvelous self-control and thereby was enabled to control others."

Cadwallader's story, under Thomas' editing, has almost the flavor of modern reporting as we knew it during World War II. He tells of visits to Wisconsin soldiers at camps and hospitals. He tells of his maneuvers to get scoops. And, apparently, the Lombard brothers (Julius and Frank) of Chicago were the forerunners of later day U.S.O. entertainment groups. Cadwallader was a Milwaukee newspaperman when Wilbur F. Storey of the Chicago Times summoned him. The Times was accused of being a "copperhead" sheet. Storey's brother-in-law and correspondent Warren P. Isham had been put under detention by Grant. Cadwallader got him released and then took over the job as correspondent. Later Cadwallader was hired by Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald to write him confidential letters on the progress of the war. These were so full of praise of Grant that the Herald's support was enlisted and perhaps influenced his move to the east. Cadwallader then became chief of the Herald's correspondents and later staff chief in Washington.

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